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In order to meet our customary mailing schedule it was necessary to print this issue of The New Republic on a newspaper web press. This fact accounts for the short page and the unusual appearance of the number generally. The entire issue is the product of union labor. As we go to press it is still uncertain whether a strike will be called in the local job printing trades. Should one occur, The New Republic will continue if possible to publish, using the union-manned web press and appearing in the present size until it can resume its usual format. No attempt will be made to print in a non-union shop.

The Week

SUPPORTERS and opponents of the President's policies will join in rejoicing that the breakdown in his health is apparently not serious. Mr. Wilson is first of all President of all the people, and only secondarily a party leader. He was responding to an insistent democratic need when he undertook to lay his case directly before the people; his breakdown was incurred in the line of duty. His rapid and complete recovery will be hoped for as much by his opponents as by his supporters. His active and energetic support of his policies is vital to the sound development of whatever compromise policy is to govern the future international relations of America.

THERE is evidence for believing that despite their first success in calling out the steel workers the leaders of the strike underestimate none of the difficulties ahead of them. With its vast capital and war profits the Steel Corporation might, if only financial interests needed consideration, sit back in confidence and wait for a defeated and resentful set of men to return to it. Fortunately the issue cannot be left to a contest between the suffering of men and women and the idleness of dollars. The public is an interested third party. On their side the unions have recognized the existence of a public interest. With the failure of their own efforts to secure a hearing from Mr. Gary, the union leaders put their case in the government's hands before taking a second step. Mr. Gary has so far refused to recognize either unions or public. He is 100 per cent for the Steel Corporation. But if Senator Kenyon takes a Senate committee to Pittsburgh to investigate the suppression of free speech the public will secure representation—if not in the center of the controversy, at least in one of its highly important phases.

THOSE who have applauded the liberal use of State Constabulary for the breaking up of strikers' meetings in western Pennsylvania have plenty of proof, if they will see it, that this method of maintaining the peace is not only high-handed but ineffective. Defense of clubbing tactics rests on a belief that mass meetings can in that fashion be prevented from turning into mobs. But what is the actual record of events in the present strike? In Ohio there have been few cases of meetings broken up, during the first week of the strike—and there have been fewer riots and disturbances of any sort

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than in any other section of the steel country. All of the worst riots have come in the Pittsburgh district—and that is just where the State Constabulary have been most active. In the towns along the Ohio River the contrast has been unmistakable: comparative free speech and order on the western side—suppression and disorder on the east.

THE truth of this fact is put in another way by the statement of an officer of the Carnegie Steel Company, speaking officially for the Steel Corporation. "Where the State Constabulary have not been active," he says, "the strike has made headway." "One of the reasons why the strike was so widespread at Youngstown was that the police protection was not good." When you couple this statement with the fact that in Youngstown the first week of the strike has been marked by extraordinary order, what does it mean? Simply that it is naïve to believe that the first duty of the State Constabulary in the present strike is to preserve order. In Youngstown the strikers could state their case unmolestedly to their fellow-workers. The strike was immediately successful. It was also without disorder. In the Pittsburgh district the clubbing of meetings didn't prevent riots—but it did succeed temporarily in holding back the strike. And that was what was wanted.

THE mine guards accused of killing Mrs. Snellins, labor organizer, have been acquitted by the coroner's jury. Whether there was or was not evidence enough to hold them is a point that can not be determined except by critical legal inquiry. Others besides lawyers have a right to a judgment on the charge of the coroner to the jury. "It is certain that a riot existed; that there were consequently no innocent bystanders and that everyone in that crowd was guilty of rioting." By this principle, if anybody in a crowd throws brick bats, deputy sheriffs and private guards may with impunity pick out and kill anyone present whom they would like to get rid of, like Mrs. Snellins. The jury, with rare humor, deplored and criticized "foreign agitators who instill anarchy and Bolshevism into the minds of un-American and uneducated aliens."

THE Omaha race riot presents no new features to distinguish it from those of Washington and Chicago except the extreme violence with which public authority was flouted. As in Washington and Chicago, there had been bad blood between the races for a long time. Race rioting as an aftermath of war was something everyone familiar with the elements of mass psychology expected. On both sides the emotions of the war produced a turbulence which only the most tactful management on the part of the public authorities and the press could keep under control. As for the public authorities, they proved in each case blind and deaf. They did not know what was coming until it was beyond control. The role of the press has been infinitely worse. In every case it has circulated wild rumors, like the Omaha canard of twenty assaults on white women, punished in some cases by only thirty days in jail.

LLOYD GEORGE may honestly believe that the British railway strike is the work of a few extremists—anarchists, he calls them—but the reported facts as to the behavior of the rank and file does not give color to this belief. Instead of lagging after the appointed hour, the train crews quite generally anticipated it in quitting work, and although the press, which is almost universally critical of the strikers, reports that large sections of the workers were lukewarm, there was no hesitation anywhere in carrying out the strike order. Railway transportation is completely tied up throughout Great Britain, and local transportation is badly disorganized. If the struggle is prolonged the consequences for British industry must be very grave indeed.

THE strike, Lloyd George declares, is not directed against private capital but against the government itself. That is true in a narrow sense, since the government is operating the roads. Nevertheless, the government as railway operator is acting as trustee for private capital. Its power to make concessions to labor is limited on the one hand by the rates it can charge without cutting too deeply into the profits of private industry, and on the other hand by the profits it has guaranteed to the owners of railway shares. The margin was already inadequate and the deficit had to be made up out of taxes, which under the British fiscal system fall heavily upon property. The workers are demanding what they conceive to be a living wage, and they do not greatly care whether the burden shall fall upon general industry, railway capital or the income taxpayer. The cause of those three classes is the government's cause only if the government makes it so.

THERE is, however, another sense in which the strike is directed against the government. Lloyd George and his colleagues refuse to grant the demands of the workers because they hold that the nation can not afford to do it. Whether the nation can afford it or not depends, of course, partly on other national outlays. If Lloyd George had cut off the subsidies to Kolchak and Denikin he would have saved the treasury an amount that would have met the demands of the railway workers. There are other items of military expenditure that could be pared down. Now, if Britain were absolutely agreed as to the expediency of Lloyd George's foreign policy, those expenditures would have nothing to do with the question. But British labor is certainly not behind Lloyd George's foreign policy. It is not with labor's consent that good millions are thrown after bad in the Russian enterprise. In striking, the railway men are deliberately locking horns with the whole clique of commercial imperialists. They are attacking the Lloyd George government, which to that government naturally looks like anarchism.

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IT is impossible to determine the merits of the controversy from the reports published in the American press, and even the British press appears to base its comments not on the merits but on the national inconvenience of the strike. Everyone knows that British railway labor was shockingly underpaid before the war and that while wages have increased and have been augmented by war bonuses, they have hardly kept pace with the rising cost of living. The laborers demand that the war standards shall be made permanent. Would that mean an excessive wage after prices fall? We should need to see the detailed schedules before we could be at all clear on this point. But the minimum wage demanded by labor is sixty shillings a week, certainly not an aristocratic wage.

FIUME remains the knottiest problem in the international field. D'Annunzio has extended his control over Sussak, the Croatian suburb which the Italians have not hitherto claimed, and over an uncertain area about Fiume. The plans of the poet's emulators to seize Zara, Sebenico and other Dalmatian ports remain immature. The seizure of Trau came to nothing, because of the prompt action of the American naval forces to whose police jurisdiction Trau had been assigned. The Italians were induced to give up their plans without bloodshed. America has reason to feel relieved. We do not desire to spill American and Italian blood over the romantic "question of the Adriatic."

NO progress is making, however, toward reducing d'Annunzio and his followers to obedience to the dispositions of the peace conference. The Nitti government is not in a position to resort to drastic measures. If it sent Italian troops against d'Annunzio, it could not be certain that they would not join with the forces that represent themselves as truer to Italian nationalism than the government itself. The report that the Nitti government has asked the peace conference to deal directly with the Fiume insurgents is inherently credible. That would be the safest way out for the Nitti government. But the peace conference could hardly accept the mandate. England, France and America would be loath to send troops to expel d'Annunzio from Fiume. That is properly Italy's task, and if Italy hesitates to undertake it, why not apply economic pressure?

ECONOMIC pressure applied to Italy would involve risks to civilization graver than those involved in the Fiume question itself. The Nitti government hangs only by a hair, even though it can command a vote of confidence in the Chamber. The Chamber itself, resting as it does upon the elections of 1913, is without a real popular mandate, and consequently without substantial authority. The party of Giolitti, as well as the extremists in the socialist camp, are demanding an election; the conservatives hope to delay until the economic conditions of the country become more settled. A million men are out on strike now. If the peace conference were to cut off food and materials, the consequent disorders might go far.

THAT the Democratic party is not lacking in political sagacity is attested by the action of the national committee in admitting women on equal terms with men. The suffrage amendment has been ratified by only seventeen states as yet, and therefore the party which draws its strength from the anti-suffrage states might have been expected to delay in conceding victory to women's suffrage. But the National Committee not only concedes victory but urges upon the states the necessity of prompt ratification. The Democratic leaders assert their belief that the enfranchisement of women will greatly strengthen the Democratic party.

President Wilson Alone

PRESIDENT WILSON'S nervous breakdown is deeply to be regretted, but it is not surprising. The wonder is that nothing of the kind has occurred before. When he was elected President he was not a robust man with the irresistible vitality of a Roosevelt or the iron constitution of a Lincoln. He belonged to the class of emotional, highly strung and extremely self-conscious men, who during the ordinary vicissitudes of life have their feelings and behaviour under elaborate control, but who during a period of stress and anxiety cannot count upon maintaining imperturbable self-possession. Early in his first administration his erratic behaviour during the Vera Cruz crisis with Mexico was apparently difficult to explain except on the supposition of occasional nervous instability. It is all the more remarkable, consequently, that during the heart-breaking responsibility and the crushing burden of work which the war has imposed upon him he has not until recently shown any signs of infirmity. That a man of his temperament and his indisposition to share responsibility and shift the burden of his office should have lived through these critical, crowded and harassing years without relaxation and without apparent flinching affords convincing testimony as to the quality and the abundance of his reserves of physical and moral energy. Their failure to last until the end only makes the past success of the President in calling them to his assistance the more impressive.

Unfortunately, however, they have not lasted and it would have been extraordinary if they had lasted. Neither can Mr. Wilson's peculiarities of physical and moral constitution be held exclusively or even chiefly responsible for the final collapse.

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The business of being President of the United States, as it has come to increase during and previous to the war, is too much for the physical endurance, the mental adaptability and the moral self-possession of any one man, no matter how iron his constitution, how inexhaustible his vitality and how imperturbable his will. The President has come to be solely responsible for deciding, or at least initiating the decision, of all important questions of American foreign and domestic policy, for executing the decisions and for explaining and defending them to the American people. Neither a Napoleon, a Bismarck, a Roosevelt nor a Lincoln would be equal to the job. Its performance would require not only more time and energy than any one man could command but also a greater variety of ability, a larger fund of knowledge, and an incredible combination of stability and flexibility of mind. Any man who attempts to be President, no matter how exuberant his vitality or prodigious his intellectual and moral qualifications, will have to sacrifice the adequacy of some part of his work to the adequacy of some other part. He will either have to follow Mr. Taft's example and entrust too many decisions and acts to associates who may not always be well-selected, or if he suffers like Mr. Wilson from a single-track mind and a reluctance to distribute his responsibility, he will find it difficult to deal with more than one question of major importance at a time and will tend to evade or postpone all except immediately necessary decisions. It is only too certain that the American Presidency has become an over-weighted institution. If it is not modified and its powers and responsibilities distributed, the mechanism of national legislation and administration is certain in the long run to suffer from the necessary incapacity of its Chief-Engineer.

In spite of the sudden and enormous increase of Presidential responsibility and work, which accrued as the result of the war, Mr. Wilson has to an unprecedented extent been unable and unwilling to delegate or to share responsibility. He has not only kept the work of decision, execution and of exposition in his own hands, but he has not provided himself with the amount or kind of auxiliary assistance which would have given to his leadership a more representative quality. The consequences have been an increasing isolation in American public opinion, an increasing alienation from Congress and an increasing sense of his own moral right to rule. This isolation, alienation and self-importance is contrary to wholesome democratic practice and to Mr. Wilson's past political creed and teaching. He wrote his first book in the interest of more effective cooperation between the legislative and executive branches of the government, and he undoubtedly intended at the beginning of his administration to practice such cooperation and if possible to provide it with recognized constitutional forms. Yet it looks as if the net result of his eight years of office would be a widening of the breach between the Presidency and Congress and an increment of hostility between them which promises to bring to an end the necessary coordination between the several departments of the American government. The Presidency has developed during Mr. Wilson's administration into an agency of political leadership so powerful that it must either earn the confidence of Congress or must devise some better means of getting on without it than campaign or propaganda, one of which is the immediate cause of Mr. Wilson's collapse. He has allowed himself to drift into an impossible predicament. For while his job was too exacting and too exhausting for him or for any other one man, he was unwilling to call to his assistance counsellors who were capable of making independent contributions to the exacting and many-sided task of piloting the American nation through one of the most serious crises of its history. Little by little Mr. Wilson has acquired more of the psychology of a man who was playing a lone hand, and who resented the opposition which he himself had adopted no sufficient means of frustrating or placating.

The most startling example of the President's increasing disposition to play a lone hand and to resent what was under the circumstances natural and wholesome opposition occurred just before his breakdown. At Pueblo on September 25th he had issued a defiance to the Senate, which could only serve to add additional embitterment and irreconcilability to an already embittered quarrel. "From every point of view I challenge them" (the Senatorial opposition) he said, "to show cause why there should be any hesitation in ratifying the treaty. . . . It is time we know where we stand, for, my fellow-citizens, the negotiations of treaties rests with the Executive of the United States. When the Senate has acted, it will be for me to determine whether its action constitutes an adoption or rejection." The President would

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hardly have uttered these words unless he was suffering from that exaggerated conviction of his right to have his own way which is too often the psychological result of playing a lone hand. If he were looking at the situation with a cool eye and with a normal sense of proportion, he would not have threatened a course of action which would impair the vitality of the Senate's right of ratification nor would he have issued a challenge which could only have the effect of increasing the disposition of his oppoents to force him to carry out his threat.

In asserting that he has the legal right to decide whether or not the final action of the Senate is equivalent to ratification or a rejection of the treaty, President Wilson was doubtless placing a defensible interpretation upon his constitutional powers. He could not be impeached for acting upon the interpretation. But it is a right which under the circumstances it would be most foolhardy for him to exercise. If the Senate finally ratifies the treaty with serious reservations, his only statesmanlike course is to consult with the British, French, Italian and Japanese governments and to find out on what terms they would accept the new stipulations and report back to the Senate the result of his negotiations. The failure to adopt this course and a declaration taken by himself as to the validity or invalidity of the ratification, would be tantamount to the assumption by himself of exclusive responsibility for decisions which at least in part should be shared with the European governments or the Senate. Suppose Mr. Wilson should decide that the reservations did not invalidate the treaty. In that case he might subsequently discover that in the opinion of some other signatory they did invalidate it. Suppose he should decide they did invalidate the treaty. In that case he might subsequently discover that in the opinion of another signatory they did not invalidate it. He would be refusing the opportunity of obtaining from other signatories a counter proposition which the Senate might be willing to accept. No public interest would be served by the exercise of his legal discretion on the premises, and the loud assertion of the right, as a right in spite of the manifest inexpediency of its exercise, would be the act not of a statesman but of a lawyer with his own pride for a client. We trust that President Wilson, after a sufficient time for recuperation, will withdraw his challenge and his threat. They were manifestly the product of the overwrought state of mind which threatens a nervous breakdown. He has no sufficient excuse in this particular case for continuing to play a lone hand. The French and British governments have a better right than he to decide on the acceptability of any reservations, and the Senate in asserting its rights to attach them to the treaty is doing more to democratize the forms of foreign policy than any other legislative body has ever succeeded in doing. It is in the light of these considerations that the President will act as soon as he recovers his nervous stability which for his own sake and for that of the country will, we hope, take place very soon.

The Depth of Garyism

IT is a long time since any one discovered a "principle" which was too sacred to be discussed. In this modern age most people have assumed that every principle was subject to discussion, that nobody's ideas were too sacred for critical examination, and that since mortals were fallible, whether they were kings, magnates, or labor leaders, a fair examination of facts and consequences was necessary to the determination of any issue. Indeed those centuries in which men refused to examine the basis of any of their briefs are generally known as the Dark Ages. In these later days there has been a tendency to feel a certain prejudice against any who like the German General Staff in 1914 discover a principle that is immune from argument. Mr. Gary, however, has discovered such a principle. It cannot be discussed with labor leaders, of course; it cannot be discussed by the United States Senate. Says the New York Times of September 28, "any action such as was suggested by Senator Kenyon for the appointment of a board of arbitration, would receive general public condemnation." Presumably it cannot be discussed by the White House Conference, nor by the President of the United States. So at last we have a principle, so high, so immeasurably important, that at the risk of disorganizing the industries of a nation, it must be left uncriticized and unexamined in the infinite conscience of Mr. Gary. The press agents are not content to say that Mr. Gary is probably right, that the evidence inclines his way; he is right

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beyond question, beyond examination even by the Congress of the United States. Nobody in the English speaking world has been so utterly right since kings were inspired directly by God himself.

> "And all should cry Beware! Beware!
> His flashing eyes, his floating hair!
> Weave a circle round him thrice,
> And close your eyes with holy dread,
> For he on honey-dew hath fed,
> And drunk the milk of Paradise."

It may be blasphemous to ask the question, but what is it that Mr. Gary is so everlastingly right about? If Mr. Gompers writes a letter to the President, he receives an answer; if he writes to Mr. Gary, his letter goes into the waste basket. If Mr. Gompers asks for an interview with the President, the interview is given at the earliest moment; if he approaches Mr. Gary, he might as well be an infidel approaching the Grand Llama. If Senator Kenyon wishes to find out what Mr. Gary's strike is about, he is warned off as if he were trespassing on private property. The strikers themselves have appealed to the regularly constituted authorities for an immediate adjudication, saying they will abide by the decision. Mr. Gary will appeal to nobody, and will abide by no decision. As we catch the drift of the argument this is conclusive proof that Mr. Gary is standing for law and order, and that Mr. Gompers and Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Foster are engineering social revolution. The principle on which Mr. Gary is so enormously right then is somewhat of this character. He is divinely authorized to smash unionism in the steel industry, and by pious fraud to call that act the prevention of revolution.

Mr. Gary, of course, knows perfectly well that the advertised defense of his position is a fraud. Every person who remembers anything about the history of the Steel Corporation's labor policy knows it is a fraud. No unionism, no collective bargaining of any kind has ever been permitted in the industry. The corporation began destroying every vestige of unionism when Lenin was a boy. Never for an instant has it deviated from a policy of blood and iron at the first hint of labor organization. The Russian revolution has nothing to do with it, the European upheaval has nothing to do with it. The Steel Corporation stands where it has always stood. It is pursuing a policy adopted decades before Bolshevism was ever heard of. Its line to-day has no relation to any follies that William Z. Foster enunciated years ago. For Mr. Gary there are no distinctions between Gompers and Foster, between Fitzpatrick and Haywood, between the late John Mitchell and the reddest rebel. There are no distinctions between the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W., no distinction between craft and industrial unionism, no distinction between conservative and radical labor leaders. Anything that suggests collective bargaining he will fight to the bitter end. That is his "principle"; he has never had any other; he has none now.

He will dress it up, of course, to suit the fashions of the moment. He will call it a fight against Bolshevism if that happens to be a good excuse, though there is no greater maker of Bolshevists in all America that he himself. He will call it a fight between American and alien labor, if a mean chauvinism happens to be popular, though no one has surpassed him as an importer of alien labor. He will call it a struggle for law and order, though there is less law and more official disorder in western Pennsylvania than in any section of the Union. He will call it a battle for American institutions, though by his direction the Bill of Rights in the Constitution has been annulled in the Pennsylvania steel district. In short, he will use any poppycock which is available, but under it all runs a clear line of policy: he will not tolerate unionism in any form whatsoever.

If we remember correctly, Mr. Gary recently added his voice to those who wish the Treaty ratified without reservations. Certainly it is true that he has had almost unanimous support from the newspapers which demand unqualified ratification. In New York alone he has had ardent support from the Evening Post, the World, the Times, all of them for the treaty as it stands. In the Senate his position has been warmly approved by certain Democratic Senators. He was cheered at a dinner of a hundred leading business men at the Ritz-Carlton the other night for his refusal to discuss the issues of the strike before a government arbitration board. Among the diners that night it is safe to say that a majority are for the treaty as it came from Paris. Have any of these statesmen, business men, or editors read the treaty or have they forgotten Article 427, or are we right in regarding that article, like so many other high sound-

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ing things in the treaty, as buncomb? Over Article 427 is written "General Principles" and among them the following will be found enumerated:

"Second, the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers."

The denial of that right to the employed in the steel industry is the issue of the strike. Concede that right and the strike can be settled. No man who argues for the treaty and is not a plain hypocrite can fail to condemn Garyism. For those who support him there is just one thing to lean upon: Foster's book written years ago. It may be argued that if he still holds those theories and proposes to put them into practice that the strike is not for "lawful purposes." Mr. Gompers assures us that Mr. Foster has abandoned these views as Mr. Wilson has abandoned some of his. Mr. Fitzpatrick, we know to be a sincere believer in constitutional method. But perhaps Mr. Foster has not really changed. The matter can be settled easily. Let Mr. Gary say that he will deal with Mr. Gompers, but that he will not deal with Mr. Foster. Let him propose to negotiate with conservative unionism. If Mr. Foster's book is the real obstacle, and not camouflage for absolute anti-unionism, Foster can be retired. Nobody in his senses will, we think, call Mr. Gompers a revolutionist.

Why is it that Mr. Gary has failed to demand the retirement of Foster? Why, if the New York Times believes that "there is no greater need in the industrial world than strong, upright, responsible unions" does it not hasten to urge negotiations with the strongest, most upright and responsible union officials anywhere in sight? The reason is that there is no word of sincerity in such professions. For Mr. Gary and his followers there are no strong, upright and responsible unions on earth. They exist only in a platonic heaven. Every actual union they intend to crush. There is no other "principle" in Mr. Gary's mind. No wonder he does not dare to debate it before some public authority.

Since Mr. Gary has given such bad odor to the word "principle," it may be well to attempt to rescue the word so that it shall have some meaning in modern civilization. In the industrial problem a principle is simply a working hypothesis to be applied after examination of the consequences, and modified in the light of new facts. No principle has any more validity than this, and if we presume to state a few they must be taken, not like Mr. Gary's, as divinely inspired, but as humanly and experimentally ascertained.

It is a working principle of modern industry that the wage earners and the salaried force shall be represented in the management, and that they shall freely choose their own representation. What representation they shall have, what powers they exercise, is a question to be worked out in each specific case. There is no one plan which will fit civil servants, railwaymen, professors, shoemakers, and girls in a department store.

It is a working principle of modern industry that no labor shall be employed at a wage or at hours or under conditions which make the industry parasitic upon the individual. What are the correct minimum wage, the correct maximum hours, the proper working conditions, only specific and scientific investigation can determine, and in that determination the employee must be permitted his own expert representation.

It is a working principle of modern industry that the guaranteed minimum should be progressively raised. How much it can safely be raised can only be determined in each case.

It is a working principle of modern industry that the workers collectively shall share in an increase of profits due to an increase in their own efficiency, or to an increase of profits due to a general prosperity, which are not taken by the state in the form of taxation.

One and all imply a realization that there are problems of industrial relation crying for solutions. These have taken many forms, from the minimum wage boards of Massachusetts to the Plumb plan for the railroads and the industrial councils in the garment industry. A sensible person will not be dogmatic about any of them. But he will insist that what lies at the bottom of all of them is a strong sense that in some combination of collective action and consent with expert finding of facts lies the hope of industrial regeneration. He will insist too that the basis of civil order depends not upon the application of some particular plan at some particular place, nor even on the application of a principle in a particular crisis but in a temper of mind capable of convincing the bulk of the community that men are

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examining the facts and urgently trying to invent methods of dealing with them. In short, the essence of wise dealing with the labor problem does not consist in agreeing with labor at every point. It does consist in demonstrating to labor that its problems are also the nation's problems, however much men may differ in particulars. Against the whole spirit of such dealing Mr. Gary has projected himself, and those who support him now are in truth turning against what little light there is in a grievously difficult age.

Six to One

THERE are at least three cases in which the six votes of the British Empire matter. When England is the defendant, and the dispute has been transferred to the Assembly, twelve votes there can prevent the League from taking action against England. England will control five of those twelve at the outset, unless the whole British Empire is debarred from voting when any section of it is a party to the dispute. Second, there are forty-five charter and invited members of the League. Sixteen votes will exclude a new member; thirty-one votes will elect a new member. Supposing that the Empire votes as a unit, Great Britain exercises a large power of veto. Add Hedjaz, Portugal, Siam, Persia, and Britain has ten out of the sixteen votes necessary to exclude, and almost one-third of the votes necessary to include. Third, since the Assembly selects four out of the nine members of the Council, votes are here a matter of significance.

It would not be fair to proceed, however, without pointing out that England is not the only state which commands a bloc of votes. In the list of members are to be found Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, the Argentine, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Salvador and Venezuela. Over some of these governments American influence would control as completely as Britain's over India, in others there would be a strong tendency to follow our lead. France too has her Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Greece. To note this is simply to recognize that the world is diplomatically grouped, and whatever criticism there may be it cannot be centered upon Britain alone.

The criticism is concentrated on the six votes of the Empire. Leaving India aside for the moment, this narrowed the debate to the four self-governing dominions. Now nobody has proposed to exclude them. The Republicans in their committee report say quite distinctly that "they are most properly members of the League and signatories to the treaty." The only issue turns on whether their votes shall count separately, and that rests on the question of whether they are really self-determining in foreign affairs or whether in foreign policy London is in control. That they are nations no one denies. Are they autonomous in foreign affairs or not? The answer is a matter of degree. They are certainly not as autonomous as let us say, Switzerland; yet they are surely as independent as Panama.

Judgment is assisted by asking whether their part in the League will tend to give them independent policies, or whether it will consolidate the supremacy of London. We incline to the belief that it will tend to decentralize imperial foreign policy, and because of that it seems best to let the matter rest with one reservation. No part of the Empire ought by its vote to obstruct the action of the League when the Empire itself is a party to the dispute. That should somehow be made clear.

India is another matter. The man who will represent India will represent the Anglo-Indian regime. He will be a pure dummy, and it should be distinctly understood that nothing can be decided by the casting of his vote. India ought to have a representative, so ought Ireland and Egypt and the Philippines, but the preliminary to giving them a vote in the League is the giving them a vote that determines their own affairs up to the point of selecting their delegate and controlling his action.

There is something dangerously near to quibbling in most of the discussion. First of all, the status of the British Dominions is certainly one of the least objectionable aspects of the whole treaty, and the advantages to be gained by the participation of great bodies of free men really does outweigh the points of criticism. Then, too, the hope of the League lies in the development of the Assembly, and the wiser policy is to be inclusive rather than exclusive. It is a greater danger that Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Russia are shut out than that Hdjaz or India are smuggled in. Any body of people that has power

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to affect the peace of the world ought to be welcomed, yes even dragged in, to that forum. There is, to be sure, more or less unreality about every representative assembly, and as one looks at the list of members there is clearly much unreality about this one. But even the fiction that India is fit to be represented is worth something to the cause of Indian liberation. It is worth while to reserve seats for all the nations, even if for the moment they are prevented by a previous engagement from occupying them.

The amendment about votes is not worth pressing. There is much else to do of far more importance, and it would be well to pass on. The defects in the voting arrangements of the Assembly are almost the least of our troubles, and they can be taken care of later, if necessary, by intepretative resolution.

Mr. Sisson and the Plumb Plan

IN a pamphlet which has been generally circulated, Mr. Francis H. Sisson says that despite the "fallacies inherent in the proposed Plumb plan" there is danger that it will be forced through Congress because of a "lack of understanding" of the plan on the part of the public. Mr. Sisson is a banker, vice-president of a leading financial institution of New York, and he has given special attention in the past to railroad problems. The pamphlet is apparently intended to remedy the "lack of understanding" of which Mr. Sisson complains.

First among the "essentials" of the Plumb plan Mr. Sisson puts "confiscation of $6,000,000,000 worth of railway property, by forcing the owners to accept 66 cents on the dollar for their properties." Can it be that Mr. Sisson has not read the bill in which the Plumb plan is contained? We search the bill in vain for any reference to 66 per cent, or indeed for any attempt to force the railroad owners to accept a cent less than the constitution and the courts will allow them. It seems incredible that Mr. Sisson should write a pamphlet on the Plumb plan without reading the one authoritative document in which the plan is embodied. Perhaps he has merely misunderstood its terms. It establishes a board of appraisal, appointed by the President, which is required to appraise "all the rights, property, interests, powers, authorities and privileges" granted to the railroads in their charters, and to exclude all values not so granted. The award of this board the railroad owners are *not* forced to accept. If they are not satisfied, the bill allows them to appeal to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, and from that court to the Supreme Court of the United States. Of course, as Mr. Sisson must know, the courts as well as the board of appraisers will be bound by the constitutional limitation that property cannot be taken without just compensation.

It is true that Mr. Plumb has expressed the opinion that sound principles of constitutional law require a valuation of only about $12,000,000,000 for the railroads of the country. Mr. Sisson apparently believes the figure should be $18,000,000,000. But the Plumb plan leaves it to the courts to determine whether Mr. Plumb or Mr. Sisson is right. To say that it involves "forcing the owners to accept 66 cents on the dollar for their properties" is to imply that Mr. Plumb has already convinced the Supreme Court of the soundness of his constitutional theories. We doubt if Mr. Sisson intended such an implication.

A little further along in the pamphlet it is said that the plan embodies "no effective control of rates by public authority." Here it is impossible to believe that Mr. Sisson misunderstood the terms of the Plumb plan bill, for they are plain beyond misunderstanding. Article II Section 4 says that the directors of the railroad corporation shall administer the undertaking, "as to the rates, fares, tolls, dues and charges to be charged, under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission," but of an excess of caution, Section 6 of Article II further provides "that the corporation shall be subject to the full regulating powers of the Federal Government as expressed through the Interstate Commerce act." It must be that Mr. Sisson's eye did not catch these significant sections.

There is a third misrepresentation in Mr. Sisson's pamphlet which it is impossible to ascribe either to misunderstanding or to oversight. That the misrepresentation is one of suggestion rather than of direct assertion does not make it any the less serious. The title of the pamphlet is Russianizing the Railroads. Throughout, Mr. Sisson speaks of the plan as one for turning over the railroads to a "Workmen's Council." The "employees" will directly control the board of directors by a two-thirds majority. The bill pro-

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vides for "government of transportation of the railroad Brotherhoods, by the Brotherhoods, for the Brotherhoods." Nowhere in the fifteen page pamphlet is there any intimation of the fact that the classified employees, the men to whom the words "employees" and "workmen" are popularly applied, are to elect only a third of the board of directors of the operating corporation, that the remaining two-thirds are to be elected, respectively, by the railroad officials, voting as a group, and by the government. Of course one who is familiar with the details of the Plumb plan will understand that technically officials are "employees," that in a broad sense they are even "workmen," and that the reference to government by the Brotherhood may be ascribed to oratorical license. But Mr. Sisson is not writing for those who are already familiar with the plan. He is writing to dispel the popular "lack of understanding" on the subject. Among those who derive their knowledge of the plan from newspaper headlines, nine out of ten will lay down Mr. Sisson's pamphlet with the full conviction that the manual workers on the railroads are to control two-thirds of the directorship of the corporation. They will picture to themselves a Russian Soviet, pure and unadulterated.

Inaccuracies and unfair implications of this sort go far to cast suspicion even on those parts of Mr. Sisson's pamphlet in which he deals with subjects peculiarly within his own field. With his criticism of the machinery for wage adjustments we are in full accord. The provisions leaving control of wages in the hands of the interested employees and officials are unsound, and must be changed before the bill stands any chance of acceptance. His criticism of Mr. Plumb's proposal to finance the undertaking through issuance of 4 per cent bonds is undoubtedly sound. (The bill, by the way, does not mention 4 per cent. It leaves the "terms of issue, conversion, redemption, maturities, payment, and rate and time of payment of interest" to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, subject to the President's approval. Four per cent was merely Mr. Plumb's estimate.) Undoubtedly, unless investment conditions change materially, a rate of interest at least as high as that of the Victory Liberty Loan will be necessary. Mr. Sisson is certain it will have to be higher still, and doubts if the bonds could be floated even at a higher rate. We hesitate to take issue with Mr. Sisson on such a subject. But has he not overlooked the fact that for every dollar of new government securities, a dollar's worth of railroad property will be taken over and paid for by the government? Will it not be in substance a re-funding operation, rather than new financing? Many of the present holders of railroad securities would be glad to exchange their holdings directly for government bonds on a valuation fixed by the board of appraisal and the courts. Those who do not, are entitled to cash, which will soon be in the investment market, directly or indirectly, to take up new securities. This circumstance must greatly lessen the difficulty of the operation.

Arguments and assertions of the type contained in Mr. Sisson's pamphlet will not go very far toward removing the public "lack of understanding" of the Plumb plan. On the contrary, they thrive on lack of understanding. To accuse the Plumb plan of containing an "essential" confiscatory feature which nowhere appears in the bill, to denounce it for failing to make provisions in the public interest which are expressly embodied in the bill, to conceal as important a feature as that of one-third representation of railroad officials on the board of directors, and by innuendo to suggest that the labor element is to control a majority, these are tactics which can only influence those who are unfamiliar with the plan, and who innocently believe that when they read a pamphlet by a prominent banker they can rely on its accuracy, fairness, and reliability.

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The Discrediting of Idealism

IT will be recalled that the decision of the Versailles Conference as to Japan's claims in China was announced at the end of April. A few weeks after this time, when I was giving some lectures in one of the chief educational centers of China, the teachers and students were asked to hand in questions in writing. They responded in large numbers. The question asked most frequently, repeated over and over again in different terms, ran about as follows: "During the war we were led to believe that with the defeat of Germany there would be established a new international order based on justice to all; that might would not henceforth make right in deciding questions between nations; that weak nations would get the same treatment as powerful ones—that, indeed, the war was fought to establish the equal rights of all nations, independently of their size or armed power. Since the decision of the peace conference shows that between nations might still makes right, that the strong nation gets its own way against a weak nation, is it not necessary for China to take steps to develop military power, and for this purpose should not military training be made a regular part of its educational system?" At every educational gathering since, this question has been uppermost.

The matter is not referred to here for discussion in connection with China. China can become a strong nation only through industrial and economic development. Any military efforts, apart from this development, would only prolong the present chaos, and at most create an hallucination as to national power. The implications, however, of the question come home to every one who favored the participation of the United States in the war on what are termed idealistic grounds. It comes with especial force to those who, strongly opposed to war in general, broke with the pacifists because they saw in this war a means of realizing pacific ideals—the practical reduction of armaments, the abolition of secret and oligarchic diplomacy and of special alliances, the substitution of inquiry and discussion for intrigue and threats, the founding, through the destruction of the most powerful autocracy, of a democratically ordered international government, and the consequent beginning of the end of war. Once having taken sides, vanity is enlisted. As President Wilson is moved to "make the best" of the actual outcome, so all those who favored America's action in the war from idealistic reasons are tempted to make the best of its outcome. And "making the best of it" means blurring over disagreeable features so as to salve vanity. Consequently the pacifists who were converted to war are obliged to undertake an unusually searching inquiry into the actual results in their relation to their earlier professions and beliefs. Were not those right who held that it was self-contradictory to try to further the permanent ideals of peace by recourse to war? Was not he who thought they might thus be promoted one of the gullible throng who swallowed the cant of idealism as a sugar coating for the bitter core of violence and greed? Is the pacifist a l'outrance, the absolutist of peace, the only one who can make a valid claim to untarnished idealism? Have the ideals of humanity, of self-determination, justice to the weak, been hopelessly discredited through being inscribed?

The defeat of idealistic aims has been, without exaggeration, enormous. The consistent pacifist has much to urge now in his own justification; he is entitled to his flourish of private triumphings. Superficially, his opponent—I mean the one who placed himself also on idealistic ground—has not much to urge except the scant though true plea that things would have been much worse if Germany had won, as she would have done without the participation of the United States. The defeat, however, is the defeat which will always come to idealism that is not backed up by intelligence and by force—or, better, by an intelligent use of force. It may seem like a petty attempt to get back at the pacifist to say that the present defeat of the war ideals of the United States is due to the fact that America's use of "force to the uttermost, force without stint," still suffered from the taint of complacent and emotional pacifism. But it may fairly be argued that the real cause of the defeat is the failure to use force adequately and intelligently. The ideals of the United States have been defeated in the settlement because we took into the war our sentimentalism,

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our attachment to moral sentiments as efficacious powers, our pious optimism as to the inevitable victory of the "right," our childish belief that physical energy can do the work that only intelligence can do, our evangelical hypocrisy that morals and "ideals" have a self-propelling and self-executing capacity.

If the principle of force to the limit had been in operation in behalf of our ideals, complete information would have been had at an early date regarding the secret agreements that were outstanding, and our share in the war would have been made to depend upon a clearing of the decks. This would have shown distrust of our Allies, and an ungenerous wish to take advantage of the hour of their critical need of our help? There speaks our inveterate sentimentalism, our unwillingness to use the force at hand in support of our ideals. Either we and our Allies were fighting for the same ends or we were not. There was no moral generosity in putting them in a position of willingness to use our help for professed democratic ends when in reality they were to use it for imperialistic ends. On our side, if we had had a tenth of the faith in concrete intelligence used at the right juncture that we had in fine phrases, many of the obstacles to securing at the end a peace in accord with our idealism would have been swept away in the earlier months of 1917. It is exceedingly silly to regard as a failure of idealism what ought rather to be charged against our own lack of common sense.

Past history would have shown what any knowledge of the present situation confirms—that the type of man brought forward by war is not the type needed to make peace. The urgencies of war bring to the front the kind of man who can make quick decisions in the face of immediate pressure of circumstance. Such statesmen are bound to be of the aggressive and quasi-gambling type. At best they represent the government of war, not the pursuits of normal peace with its long-time interests and consequences. Mr. Norman Angell and a few others, but Mr. Angell especially, taught all during the war the indispensable necessity of provision for popular representation at the peace conference. Everybody who heard him was impressed with the reasonableness of the proposition. But nothing was done. Was this an intelligent use of the force at our command?

President Wilson as a peace-maker is the exception that proves the rule. Owing to the accidents of our electoral and party system, he was the one figure in the Councils who had not been given his place and influence by the exigencies of war. He represented and upon the whole with more than ordinary representative capacity the normal interests of men and governments in times of peace. Yet in essentials he was overruled. Why? Because it was thought that, by some magic, dumb millions could be given effective voice through him. He seems to have thought that, contrary to all experience of representative government, he could "represent" the unrepresented interests of the common people whose main concern is with peace, not war. It would be difficult to imagine any greater travesty on the use of force to the uttermost than the idea that one man could secure a just decision by appealing a la improvisatore over the heads of diplomats to the unorganized, scattered and unenlightened peoples of the earth. When he became inclined to act in this way the diplomats had only to point out to him that he would thereby decrease the waning power of governmental authority, increase popular unrest, and run the risk of plunging Europe into the chaos of political revolutions. After that, he could not even speak effectually for himself, to say nothing of "representing" the unrepresented peoples of the earth. He made his popular appeal in the case of Fiume, indeed, but its chief tangible effect was to strengthen Imperial Japan in its encroachments upon the people of China.

There is another force, an immense force, which might have been used in behalf of the war ideals of the United States, a force which might still be employed though less effectually. There is the economic and financial force of the United States. It may be doubted whether the world has ever seen such a spectacle as that of the last few years. The United States has extended money and credit almost "without stint" to governments of Europe irrespective of whether they were supporting the announced policies of the United States, nay, even when those governments were doing what they could to undermine American ends. And doubtless the average American has taken pride in this fact. We are so generous, so disinterested, that we do not bargain or impose conditions. In short we are so childishly immature, so careless of our professed ideals, that we prefer a reputation for doing the grand seigneur act to the realization of

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our national aims. This is the acme of our sentimentalism. Can we blame the European statesmen if to put it with blank vulgarity they play us for suckers?

Such considerations as these, which might be indefinitely multiplied, show that not idealism but *our* idealism is discredited, an idealism of vague sentiments and good intentions, isolated from judgment as to the effective use of the force in our hands. It may be said that this is not our fault, but President Wilson's. There are a few who are entitled to the benefit of this plea, but only a few. President Wilson is a scape-goat convenient to save our vanity. But he successfully appealed to the American people and led them.

If they—if we—had been different, he would have had to use different methods to get results. History will probably record that his idealistic speeches corresponded to the spirit of the American people; and that the blame which belongs to him is not that of betraying the American spirit but of embodying its weaknesses too faithfully. Take one example. The use of force in behalf of our professed ideals would certainly have involved the use of all the thinking, speaking and writing of the liberals and radicals who in the end could alone give sympathetic and intelligent support to the aims eloquently set forth by President Wilson. Instead, we had a policy of suppression of free speech, of espionage, and of encouragement of the violent unrestraint characteristic of the reactionary. It is easy to blame for this Mr. Wilson's personal desire to play the part of Atlas supporting alone the universe of free ideals. An accomplice his conceit assuredly was, but the American people who revelled in emotionalism and who grovelled in sacrifice of its liberties is the responsible cause. Immaturity and inexperience in international affairs consequent upon our isolation mitigate the blame. But they would not have taken the form they took were it not for our traditional evangelical trust in morals apart from intelligence, and in ideals apart from executive and engineering force. Our Christianity has become identified with vague feeling and with an optimism which we think is a sign of a pious faith in Providence but which in reality is a trust in luck, a deification of the feeling of success regardless of any intelligent discrimination of the nature of success.

It may be that the words idealism and ideals will have to go—that they are hopelessly discredited. It may be that they will become synonyms for romanticism, for blind sentimentalism, for faith in mere good intentions, or that they will come to be regarded as decorative verbal screens behind which to conduct sinister plans. But the issue is real, not verbal. There remains a difference between narrow and partial ends and full and far reaching ends; between the success of the few for the moment and the happiness of the many for an enduring time; a difference between identifying happiness with the elements of a meagre and hard life and those of a varied and free life. This is the only difference between materialism and idealism that counts. And until we act persistently upon the fact that the difference depends upon the use of force and that force can be directed only by intelligence, we shall continue to dwell in a world where the difference between materialism and idealism will be thought to be a matter of opinion, argument and personal taste. To go on opposing ideals and force to each other is to perpetuate this regime. The issue is not that of indulging in ideals versus using force in a realistic way. As long as we make this opposition we render our ideals impotent, and we play into the hands of those who conceive force as primarily military. Our idealism will never prosper until it rests upon the organization and resolute use of the greater forces of modern life: industry, commerce, finance, scientific inquiry and discussion and the actualities of human companionship.

JOHN DEWEY.

Criticism

CRITICS do not exist for artists any more than palæontologists exist for fossils. If both critics and artists could recognize this how much poorer the world would be in malice and rancor! To help the artist is no part of a critic's business: artists who cannot help themselves must borrow from other artists. The critic's business is to help the public. With the artist he is not directly concerned: he is concerned only with his finished products. So, it is ridiculous for the artist to complain that criticism is unhelpful, and absurd for the critic to read the artist lectures with a view to improving his art. If the critic reads lectures it must be with a view to helping the public to appreciate, not the artist to create. To put the public in the way of aesthetic pleasure, that is the

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end for which critics exist, and to that end all means are good.

Connoisseurs in pleasure—of whom I count myself one—know that nothing is more intensely delightful than the aesthetic thrill. Now, though many are capable of tasting this pleasure, few can get it for themselves: for only those who have been born with a peculiar sensibility, and have known how to cherish it, enjoy art naturally, simply, and at first hand as most of us enjoy eating, drinking and kissing. But, fortunately, it is possible for the peculiarly sensitive, or for some of them, by infecting others with their enthusiasm to throw these into a state of mind in which they, too, can experience the thrill of æsthetic comprehension. And the essence of good criticism is this, that, instead of merely imparting to others the opinions of the critic, it puts them in a state to appreciate the work of art itself. A man blest with peculiar sensibility, who happens also to possess this infecting power, need feel no more shame in becoming a critic than Socrates would have felt in becoming a don. The vocations are much alike. The good critic puts his pupil in the way of enjoying art, the good don or schoolmaster teaches his how to make the most of life; while bad critics and pedagogues stuff their victims with those most useless of all useless things, facts and opinions.

Primarily, a critic is a sign-post. He points to a work of art and says—"Stop! Look!" To do that he must have the sensibility that distinguishes works of art from rubbish, and, amongst works of art, the excellent from the mediocre. Further, the critic has got to convince, he has got to persuade the spectator that there is something before him that is really worth looking at. His own reaction, therefore, must be genuine and intense. Also, he must be able to stimulate an appreciative state of mind, he must, that is to say, have the art of criticism. He should be able, at a pinch, to disentangle and appraise the qualities which go to make up a masterpiece, so that he may lead a reluctant convert by partial pleasures to a sense of the whole. And, because nothing stands more obstructively between the public and the grand aesthetic ecstasies than the habit of feeling a false emotion for a pseudo-work-of-art, he must be as remorseless in exposing shams as a good schoolmaster would be in exposing charlatans and short-cuts to knowledge.

Since, in all times and places, the essence of art—the externalizing in form of something that lies at the very depths of personality—has been the same, it may seem strange, at first sight, that critical methods should have varied. One moment's reflection will suffice to remind us that there are often ten thousand paths to the same goal; and a second may suggest that the variety in critical methods is at any rate not more surprising than the variety in the methods of artists. Always have artists been striving to convert the thrill of inspiration into significant form, never have they stuck long to any one converting-machine. Throughout the ages there has been a continual chopping and changing of "the artistic problem." Canons in criticism are as unessential as subjects in painting. There are ends to which a variety of means are equally good: the artist's end is to create significant form; that of the critic to bring his spectator before a work of art in an alert and sympathetic frame of mind. If we can realize that Giotto, with his legends, and Picasso, with his cubes, are after the same thing, surely we can understand that when Vasari talks of "truth to nature" or "nobility of sentiment" and Mr. Roger Fry of "planes" and "relations" both are about the same business.

Only a fool could suppose that the ancients were less sensitive to art than we are. Since they were capable of producing great art it seems silly to pretend that they were incapable of appreciating it. We need not be dismayed by the stories of Apelles and Polygnotus with their plums and sparrows. These are merely the instruments of criticism: by such crude means did ancient critics excite the public and try to express their own subtle feelings. If anyone seriously believes that the Athenians admired the great figures on the Parthenon for their fidelity to Nature, I would invite him to take into consideration the fact that they are not faithful at all. More probably a sensitive Athenian admired them for much the same reasons as we admire them. He felt much what we feel: only, he expressed his admiration and thus provoked the admiration of others, by calling these grand, distorted, or "idealized" figures "life-like." Reading the incomparable Vasari one is not more struck by his sensibility and enthusiasm, than by the improbability of his having liked the pictures he did like for the childish reasons he is apt to allege. Could anyone be moved by the verisimilitude of Uccello? I forget whether that is what Vasari commends: what I am sure of is that he

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was moved by the same beauties that move us.

The fact is, it matters hardly at all what words the critic employs provided they have the power of infecting his audience with his genuine enthusiasm for an authentic work of art. No one can state in words just what he feels about a work of art—especially about a work of visual art. He may exclaim; indeed, if he be a critic he should exclaim, for that is how he arrests the public. He may go on to seek some rough equivalent in words for his excited feelings. But whatever he may say will amount to little more than steam let off. He cannot describe his feelings, he can only make it clear that he has them. That is why analytical criticism of paintings and music is always beside the mark: neither, I think, is analytical criticism of literary art more profitable. With literature that is not pure art the case is different, facts and teachings being, of course, the analyst's natural prey. But before a work of art the critic can do little more than jump for joy. And that is all he need do if, like Cherubino, he is "good at jumping." The warmth and truth of Vasari's sentiment comes straight through all his nonsense. Because he really felt he can still arrest.

Take an artist who has always been popular and see what the ages have had to say about him. For more than two hundred and fifty years Poussin has been admired by most of those who have been born sensitive to the visual arts. No pretexts could be more diverse than those alleged by these admirers. Yet it would be as perverse to suppose that they have all liked him for totally different reasons as to maintain that all those who, since the middle of the seventeenth century, have relished strawberries have tasted different flavors. What is more, when I read, say, the fantastic discourses on the pictures of Poussin delivered by the Academicians of 1667, I feel certain that some of these erudite old gentlemen had, in fact, much the same sort of enthusiasm, stirred by the monumental qualities of his design and the sober glory of his colors, that I have myself. Through all the dry dust of their pedantry the accent of aesthetic sensibility rings clear.

Poussin's contemporaries praised him chiefly as a preceptor, an inculcator of historical truths, more especially the truths of classical and Hebrew history. That is why Philippe de Champaigne deplores the fact that in his Rebecca "Poussin n'ait pas traité le sujet de son tableau avec toute la fidélité de l'histoire, parce qu'il a retranché la représentation des chameaux, dont l'Ecriture fait mention." But Le Brun, approaching the question from a different angle, comes heavily down on his scrupulous colleague with the rejoinder that—"M. Poussin a rejeté les objets bizarres qui pouvaient débaucher l'oeil du spectateur et l'amuser à des minuties." The philosophic eighteenth century remarked with approval that Poussin was the exponent of a wholesome doctrine calculated to advance the happiness of mankind. But to the fervid pages of Diderot, wherein that tender enthusiast extols Poussin to the skies, asserting that one finds in his work "le charme de la nature avec les incidents ou les plus doux ou les plus terribles de la vie," our modern sensibility makes no response. And we are right. The whole panegyric rings hollow. For to visual art Diderot had no reaction, as every line he wrote on the subject shows.

That devout critic who, in the reign of the respectable Louis Philippe, discovered that "Nicolas Poussin était doué d'une foi profonde; la piété fut son seul refuge," is in the same boat. And, for companion, they have Mr. Ruskin, who, being, like them, incapable of a genuine aesthetic emotion, is likewise incapable of infecting a truly sensitive reader. So far as I remember Ruskin's quarrel with Poussin is that to his picture of the flood he has given a prevailing air of sobriety and gloom, whereas it is notorious that an abundance of rain causes all green things to flourish and the rocks to shine like agate. But when Ingres attributes the excellence of Poussin to the fact that he was a faithful disciple of the ancients we feel that he is talking about the thing that matters and that he is talking sense. And we feel the same—what instance could more prettily illustrate my theory? —when Delacroix passionately asserts that Poussin was an arch-revolutionary.*

The divergence between the pretexts alleged by our ancestors for their enthusiasm and the reasons given by us, moderns, is easily explained by our intense self-consciousness. We are deeply interested in our own states of mind: we are all psychologists. From psychology springs the modern interest in aesthetics: those who care for art and the processes of their own minds finding themselves aestheticians willy-nilly. Now art-criticism and

* For this little history of Poussin criticism I am indebted to M. Paul Desjardins: *Poussin* (Librairie Renouard; Paris).

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aesthetics are two things, though at the present moment the former is profoundly influenced by the latter. By works of art we are thrown into an extraordinary state of mind and, unlike our forefathers, we want to give some exacter account of that state than that it is pleasant, and of the objects that provoke it some more accurate and precise description than that they are lifelike, or poetical, or beautiful even. We expect our critics to find some plausible cause for so considerable an effect. We ask too much. It is for the aesthetician to analyze a state of mind and account for it: the critic has only to bring into sympathetic contact the object that will provoke the emotion and the mind that can experience it. Therefore, all that is required of him is that he should have sensibility, conviction, and the art of making his conviction felt. Fine sensibility he must have. He must be able to spot good works of art. No amount of eloquence in the critic can give form significance. To create that is the artist's business. It is for the critic to put the public in the way of enjoying it.

CLIVE BELL.

Minnesota and the Nonpartisan League

THE collapse of the political tactics of the conservatives in the recent extra session of the Minnesota legislature (September 8th to 19th) has left the way practically clear for a Nonpartisan League victory in that state in 1920. Governor Burnquist issued his call for the extra session early in August, mentioning eight subjects which demanded legislation. The one most strongly urged was protection of the state forests from fires, such as were then raging in Montana, but prominent among the other items were ratification of the woman's suffrage amendment, the payment of a bonus to returned soldiers, and amendment to the state primary election laws. In commenting upon this call the daily press disclosed the political animus back of it, one of the big conservative papers warning its readers that unless this primary law should be so amended as to "insure a majority nomination" the "Townley forces (Nonpartisan League) are almost certain to capture the Republican party and thereby the control of the Minnesota state government in 1920."

The dissatisfaction with the primary law goes back to the Nonpartisan League victory in North Dakota in 1916. Minnesota, like North Dakota and most of the other northwestern states, has the open primary which requires no registration of party affiliations and at which any registered voter may ballot for any candidate he likes, whether he expects to support him in the final election or not. It was devised as a method by which an underground bi-partisan combine could get together for the nomination of a minority candidate within the leading party favorable to the interests which seek to use both parties for their ends and thus defeat the democratic purposes of the primary. Again and again, in the good old days, the "special" interests had voted a sufficient bloc of the Democratic party at these open primaries to nominate a minority Republican, who, once he was nominated, would nine times out of ten be elected in deference to the sentiment of strict party loyalty. The Democrats, as the minority party, would the more willingly vote for the minority candidate in the Republican party, hoping thereby to split the forces of the opposition and occasionally to elect their own candidates.

But all this was planned and executed in the good days when only the politicians and their wealthy Maecenases were organized. They did not dream that the voters would some day form for themselves a bipartisan combine and turn their neat contrivance against democratic rule upon its inventors. But such a time came, first of all in North Dakota. The Nonpartisan League was not only nonpartisan; it was in effect bipartisan. Members were instructed to concentrate, regardless of their own party affiliations, upon the most friendly majority party candidate at the primaries. By this means they captured the Republican party bag and baggage, even to the control of the state central committee, in 1916. Since that date the inventors of the open primary have come increasingly to look upon it as dangerous and to characterize it as promotive of minority rule—a thing they were never much afraid of before.

As late as the 1918 primary election in Minnesota the open primary saved the day for the conservative element of the Republican party by defeating the Nonpartisan League candidate who, although he received a good majority of the normal Republican vote in the state, was nevertheless defeated by the aid of the Democrats. The Democrats registered a total of but little more than 30,000 votes in the primary election to an approxi-

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mate total of 350,000 for the Republican candidates. From two-thirds to three-fourths of the Democrats had voted for Republican candidates and generally in opposition to the Nonpartisan League. But the conservatives, recognizing that they would probably not be able to repeat this bit of strategy at the 1920 elections, determined to change the primary system at the regular session of the legislature, in 1919. They failed merely because they could not agree upon the method. The more conservative senate, elected for a period of four years and therefore less sensitive to popular sentiments which they expected to "blow over," desired to destroy the primary system altogether in effect and return to a masked convention system. In this they were supported by the Republican press of the state, but at the eleventh hour they were opposed by the governor. The house, on a two years' tenure, desired merely to modify the existing primary law by providing for pre-primary conventions which should select the party candidates for state offices (always an organization man, of course, since such conventions are always manipulated) whose names would be placed on the primary ballot with the convention's endorsement. While pre-primary nominations by petition would not have been excluded they would have been at a great disadvantage because of lack of regular endorsement and because of the ease with which they could be singled out for abuse and misrepresentation to the less informed rank and file of the party. The governor was behind this bill. The house and the senate quarreled bitterly, the latter holding that the house's measure would not be effective, and the former retorting that the people would not stand for the virtual abolition of the primary system proposed by the senate. In the meantime the legal term for the sitting of the legislature came to an end before action was taken and the primary law was saved.

After the legislature adjourned the Nonpartisan League people did not conceal their feelings of relief. A combination of circumstances soon favored their political prospects in the state. One of the leading Republican congressmen from Minnesota, previously not particularly noted for liberal views, perceiving the signs of the times, issued a bitter arraignment of the work of the legislature just closing its session and of the state Republican machine in particular, and announced his candidacy for the governorship in 1920. With their usual dulness, the Republican organization and press denounced him for playing to the "Townley crowd" and asserted that he was the candidate of the Nonpartisan League. While this was not true, it greatly aided the League by associating it with one more program for constructive reform in the state and it convicted the regular Republican organization out of their own mouths by admitting the truth of the characterization of their principles which the revolting congressman had made. Soon the "regulars" perceived their error and now they ignore him completely.

Another influence working silently in favor of the League was its "discovery" of correspondence arranging for the establishment of funds of hundreds of thousands of dollars by certain business interests of the Twin Cities for a masked campaign against the farmer and labor organizations of the state. With these funds they established propaganda papers, which masqueraded as organs of "Americanization," bought or subsidized other papers, subsidized chautauqua speakers and "systems," supported so-called "social workers," helped finance the prosecution of reputed disloyalty cases and, in the Twin Cities, promoted an organization for holding "open forums," with the backing of the local administration, for propaganda against socialism and other popular movements. This correspondence was published in the Nonpartisan League publications and reached every community of the state with telling effect.

The victory of the League in North Dakota over the I. V. A., an organization said to have been largely financed with Twin City money, and the consequent popular endorsement of their legislative scheme did much to renew confidence in their program and its ultimate success. The uncompromising attitude of the state federation of labor which met in July and organized into a political group and pledged its cooperation with the Nonpartisan League, in spite of overtures from the governor for a political truce with the employers, did even more. Finally, the Townley trial and conviction, which proved such a boomerang to its promoters, capped the climax and demonstrated to the dominant political machine that, as their press organs said, unless something could be done the Republican party in the state would "degenerate into Townleyism" and the state into "socialism and bolshevism," by which was meant that terminal elevators, state owned mills, a state bank and

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other evidences of public ownership would appear. The membership of the Nonpartisan League had grown alarmingly, its campaign was reaching the proportions and fervor of a revival movement and if the "fool" people were allowed to vote freely and without "guidance" they might overturn the existing order sacred to the hearts of all true Americans, that is, men with profits to defend.

Hence, the special session of the legislature. The old party machines and their financial sponsors have not at any time in recent years read the signs of the times in the Northwest with any degree of credit to themselves. Having suppressed freedom of speech in the opposition they mistake silence for agreement. They have also been slow to recognize that the trained politician deserts one master —or parasitic host—for another as soon as he gets wind of a funeral in the state house. It soon became clear that neither of the old bills of the regular session designed to emasculate the primary could be passed. Consequently a compromise was hit upon, providing that in case no candidate received a majority vote, the two names standing highest as a result of the primary should be placed on the final ballot and that no alternative or insurgent pre-primary nominations by petition should be allowed. This was the machine's method of securing majority rule. Its intent was clear. Either the two leading candidates would be a "regular" Republican and a "regular" Democrat, leaving the League or "irregular" candidates off the ballot, or there would be one League candidate and one candidate from one of the "regular" parties for each office. If the former, the matter would be immediately disposed of to the satisfaction of the bipartisan machine. If the latter, the bipartisan machine operating in the service of the dominant financial interests, could get in its work by throwing all its available force on the side of the "regular" candidate, of whichever party. This plan would accomplish all the desirable results of direct fusion of the two old parties against the common enemy without any of the disadvantages, such as an offense to the public opinion of those who conceive of political loyalty as a duty next to religious faith.

But the thing was impossible. Not even in this form could the bill go through. League politicians, who have constantly proven too resourceful for the "Old Gang," had been at work and petitions from the voters of the state, letters, telegrams and personal interviews without number descended upon the house members demanding that no action be taken upon the primary law. The bill was rejected, "after an all day wrangle," by a vote of more than two to one. The big negative vote was a combination of Nonpartisan League and Labor members, wets (disgruntled because the machine had not defeated prohibition legislation) and "scared politicians" intimidated by the Townley league's monster petition campaign and the attack by labor organizations on the bill. The vote came as a great surprise to the old line wheel horses, which shows that they are losing control of party organization. Nothing could be more indicative than this of the trend toward the Nonpartisan League.

While it is the general opinion, after the collapse just described, that the League will control the Republican party as a result of the 1920 primaries, the old bipartisan machine has not surrendered. The sponsor of the defeated bill immediately moved the death of the companion provision abolishing the right to nominate substitute candidates by petition after the primaries, thus leaving the way open for the combine to bring forth at the eleventh hour a substitute candidate to their tastes if they are defeated in the primaries. This procedure, formerly so distasteful and disloyal when employed in 1918 by the Nonpartisan League, now becomes a straw to the drowning. They also plan other measures for retrieving their fortunes. Says the Journal: "Republican leaders declare today that a way will be found to unite the elements opposed to the Nonpartisan League and prevent the socialistic Townley organization from stealing the Republican organization. . . . It was predicted today that old time party leaders will join in a call for an unofficial conference of Republicans early next year to agree on a party platform and draft candidates for state office, on whom the votes of regular Republicans can be concentrated in the primaries"—and doubtless those of regular Democrats also.

But it is doubtful if anything can make good the broken fortunes of the old machine. Some attempts were made to court popular favor through laws passed at the extra session. A bonus of $15 for each month of service to soldiers, denied in the regular session, was passed; but "disloyal" North Dakota had authorized a larger bonus months before, a fact which the League papers have not

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failed to keep constantly before the public. The woman's suffrage amendment was passed, but the women voters are not likely to be misled by this compliance with the inevitable. The one big piece of legislation in the public interest, a five per cent tax on iron ore, passed after years of popular agitation and a flat rejection in the regular session, was vetoed instantly by the governor who has long been accused of being under the influence of the steel interests. Nothing could give the League politicians a better basis for telling criticism. "The governor's action seems aimed at forming the majority party of the state into a great aid society for the Nonpartisan League," said one member of the legislature apropos the event. In this way has the old party organization constantly overreached itself, losing its perquisites and those of its masters by overzealous defense of them.

The importance of the impending transference of Minnesota to the Nonpartisan League column is not merely one of numbers. It is much more than that. Minnesota is the keystone of the Northwest, and for that reason has been for two years—in spite of the fame of North Dakota—the chief battle ground of League and anti-League forces. All that is dominant industrially and financially centers in the Twin Cities and for years the men who have managed these great railroad, grain, milling, and mining corporations have also controlled the politics of the Northwest. If they lose Minnesota, their very footstool, how shall men continue to have faith in their power? Besides, their control of Minnesota politics is intimately connected with that of other states through their lobby and publicity organizations. There will be no compromise, for vast interests are at stake. Whereas they have spent hundreds of thousands hitherto, they will now spend millions and bring all the underground economic pressure of which they are masters to bear upon the situation. But unless some stroke of luck which cannot now be foreseen occurs to favor them they are doomed to defeat in 1920.

C. R. JOHNSON.

Pittsburgh—Is It Revolution?

REVOLUTION is what more than one editor thinks it to be. Leaders alien to the tradition of American labor—mobs so threatening as to call out the state constabulary—above all, the sinister influence of the "foreign element"—these are three principal points on which that editor dwells who wants the steel strike to be taken as the first act in an overt class warfare.

No observer looking with his own eyes would, on the day this is written, have found much in Pittsburgh and the towns of the iron valley to assure him that a social revolution was in progress. Police records for the last twenty-four hours say there have been "disturbances" in but one center of the Pittsburgh district (Clairton)—and this despite the fact that it is the fifth day of a strike involving, in the Pittsburgh district alone, more than a hundred thousand active strikers. That creditable and extraordinary record may be upset tomorrow. Much depends upon the action of the state troops in respect to the holding of public meetings. Today, on the streets of Donora and Monessen and Homestead, the observer would of course have found the inevitable loiterers—idle men, wearing their "Sunday" clothes, most of them, and gathered on the curb in front of the moving picture house or the pool room. Had he stopped to speak with these men he would have found, I think, neither the aim of upsetting the government in Washington, nor a belief that this strike was to settle the ownership of the steel plants. Instead he might have found a point of view that would have been rare indeed in the days before the war. Why, many of these men would have asked him, has the government sent no one to help us? We are on strike. No one goes on strike if he is contented with his working day. We are on strike for certain simple principles which the government itself has been sponsoring. We are on strike for the right of collective bargaining, the eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven, abolition of the twenty-four hour shift. These things the government officially championed during the war—they are points it regarded as minimum in every case of federal arbitration—the newspapers say they are in that international labor treaty which Mr. Wilson brought back from

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France. If the government believes in these things, if it is inviting Italians and Belgians and Czecho-Slovaks all the way from Europe to endorse them, then why hasn't it sent Congress or the Cabinet or some one else here to fix them up for us? Then we would get back to earning pay again.

If the steel strike in the Pittsburgh district is essentially different from any of the great industrial conflicts which have preceded it, I believe that for more than any other reason it is because the workers have a new confidence that on their side "the government" will take its stand, when issues fundamental to industrial democracy (like the eight-hour day and collective bargaining) are at stake. It is the tragedy of the first week of this strike that so large a part of the public should have been led by propagandists to believe that the strikers aimed against the government, when in fact so large a part of these same strikers believed that they could win only if the government redeemed what seemed to them its solemn promises.

In the misrepresentation of motives it is perhaps the "foreign element" that has suffered most. Who was it brought the "foreign element" to Pittsburgh if not the United States Steel Corporation itself? It is not hard to remember days when the Steel Corporation advertised "Men Wanted. *Foreigners Only Need Apply.*" Foreign labor was plentiful then. Why did the Steel Corporation want it? Because it was cheap; because, with religious and racial differences it was thought that the "foreigners" would not easily unite; and because, therefore, they would serve as a bulwark against unionization. Today, fighting off standards accepted in every civilized community, the companies turn on these men for whose wholesale importation they are themselves so largely responsible—and insult them with insinuation not once, so far, substantiated by the fact.

It is not the "foreigners" but the duly constituted authorities of western Pennsylvania who have furnished for an observer in the Pittsburgh district a sample of "un-American" tactics during the first week of the strike. What occupies leaders like Fitzpatrick is simply the plain task of trying to test their case by democratic discussion. In McKeesport orderly union meetings are constantly dispersed. On the first day of the strike mounted troops broke up a gathering of that sort by riding into it. Union organizers have been arrested, charged with disorderly conduct, because it was "suspected" that they "intended holding a mass meeting." To what pass has democracy come if the right to assemble honorably for the free discussion of important questions can be classed as disorderly conduct? McKeesport, it is fair to say, seems the worst of all the towns in the iron valley. But the same sort of thing is happening in Clairton and Glassport, Farrell and Homestead. It is easy, with the Steel Corporation towering behind, to snap one's fingers in the face of American tradition. It is not only to American labor or to American liberals, but to Americans as a people, that the phrase in which the Mayor of McKeesport suppresses free speech should serve as warning: "It *became necessary* for me to exercise executive authority and prohibit public assemblage." It is the ukase of the dictator.

To the reporters in New York Mr. Gary declared that something was at stake in Pittsburgh "higher than the United States Steel Corporation." With that description of the issue there are many observers in Pittsburgh who will be satisfied. Fundamental issues are at stake. And one of them is the privilege of democratic discussion unmolested by the club.

Pittsburgh, Pa. CHARLES MERZ.

Exile

Ai! Ai! the proud trees,
The great-hearted dryads,
Shut into backyards
Shadowing ash-cans,
I hear their lament
Among the sordid house-tops,
The wail of the captives,
The plaint of the bondwomen:
"Oh for the concourse of our people,
The green concourse,
And the glad nearness of kin;
The young trees growing at our roots
And the parent tree slowly fading beside us;
The song at dawn;
The long prayer in the dusk;
The moving nearer together during the darkness.
Alas! for a sight of our race gathered in might and joyousness
With the birds like singing leaves in their branches."
So wept the great trees,
The beautiful forest-women,
Standing serviceable
At the back doors of houses.

ELIZABETH J. COATSWORTH.

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Books and Things

HE was a sporting Englishman with his own brand of humor. "Eoh yes," he droned at dinner, "big game is quite amusin', but naturally it's not in it with baggin' men. I've shot in Ind-yah and in Af-r'cah, but the best sport I've eveh had was last yeah in Frahnce." This in a voice of mild fatigue, as if it were really too laborious to repeat things so universally accepted.

Was it, on the whole, so much the speech of a brute? Personally I have never bagged anything bigger than a mouse. I have killed mosquitoes, flies, cockroaches, a flea, one fish, innumerable oysters and that mouse. But although myself not a mighty hunter, and without one single aspiration to be a mighty hunter, I rather think there is something to be said for the person who is willing to take a life.

Personally I have never killed a lamb. A lamb, as I think of him, is a pleasant animal. He has knees like the knees of a German toy. He has a foolish amiability of countenance like a certain kind of small school-girl. He throws quaint leaps out of his body that suggest a bubbling well-being. And he is as fresh as the daisy in the field. I don't kill him. I don't like to think of his being killed. And yet I eat him cheerfully. I eat him roast and broiled and in steak and in chop. And I no more connect the flavor of him with his bleating exit than I connect this paper with the death of the tree from whose flesh it has been made. The lamb died that I may live. So be it. But I no more dream of myself as the agent of his dying than Mr. J. Ogden Armour has nightmares of stuck pigs and maddened steers. Both of us, the great baron of beef and your humble servant, have been responsible for the taking of life—Mr. Armour at wholesale, myself cutlet by cutlet. But do we feel guilty? Speaking for both of us, no.

And yet we are guilty, just as guilty as if we had gone out to the shed with mallet and ax. I am just as much a lamb-slayer as if I had myself slit the lamb's throat. Another man has shoved away the lamb's mother. Another man has done the dirty work for me, at so much per. But if I stopped eating my fellow-creatures, one less fellow-creature would be slain every now and then; and the doom would only fall on the unsuspecting cabbage-head. I slay the beast, though my hands are whiter than snow. It is for me that the mallet is raised and the skull crunched and the groan uttered and the last sigh heaved. Do I enjoy it? Certainly not. But I don't stop it. And until I do stop it I am myself the killer of steer and sheep.

This platitude occurs to me because of all the refined people I have recently been meeting. These are the people who say, "I'm glad of it, but I wouldn't do it myself." If they are glad of it, I say, they may as well accept their share in the doing of it. They cannot be glad of it, and be in so far beneficiaries of it, and yet stand out from under the guilt. They cannot denounce theft and yet receive stolen goods. They cannot denounce prostitution and yet take the high rent of prostitutes. If they take the increment, they are in their own degree responsible to the source and for the source from which it comes.

Take the magistrate who discharges the soldiers in uniform that have been breaking up socialist meeting-places. That magistrate says, "we cannot approve of your violence, but we are mighty glad that you did it." In saying so much, how much of a non-participant is he? He is practically urging the men in uniform to go ahead with their policy of beating up the people they don't like. Of course the magistrate doesn't approve of mob-violence and terrorism and murder. But he is glad of the things that lead up to it. Why doesn't he cut out the apologetics and say, "yes, law and order are all right inside the tribe but these socialists aren't tribal. I'm against them. Beat 'em up. Go as far as you like and to hell with the law."

The employers who pretend to accept unionism and yet hope that Mr. Gary will smash unionism are practically in the same boat. They would never come into the open as supporters of Mr. Gary's cave-man capitalism. Yet they are at heart cave-man capitalists, and they pray he'll win. "I wouldn't take that stand myself, but I'm glad of it." So their lips speak, but down underneath their desires are saying, "If we had the gall or the recklessness, that's what we'd do ourselves."

But how, in this case, about the few people of a different stripe who use exactly the same phrase in discussing Mr. William Bullitt's recent breach of decorum? Mr. Bullitt has publicly quoted certain talks that were supposed to be private and confidential. Most people, especially people who praise the magistrate and who sympathize with Mr. Gary, profess to be horribly shocked by this. There are, however, a few definitely on Mr. Bullitt's side who take the more complicated position of rejoicing in his conduct while not believing themselves capable of it—"I'm glad he did it, though I wouldn't do it myself."

I am just as puzzled by this reservation in the case of Mr. Bullitt's conduct as by the reservation in the case of the magistrate and Mr. Gary. What do people, these few nice people, mean by saying, "I wouldn't do it myself." Do they mean that, while they think he behaved shabbily, they are glad that by his shabbiness he has to some extent lifted the veil on the large deceptions that are now going on? Do they mean that not for an instant can they imagine themselves in that same inglorious attitude, that attitude of violating privacies?

If this is indeed what such people mean, are they not open to precisely the same criticism as the magistrate and the admirers of Mr. Gary? I do not question their own account of themselves, perhaps, but I do question their right to their position. Isn't it better to break down the division between their theory of good conduct and their acceptance of the fruits of poor conduct? How can they willingly benefit by an act that they consider dishonorable, or else deem dishonorable an act they willingly benefit by?

My own theory of conduct is not outraged by Mr. Bullitt's behavior. What he violated, as I see it, was a small rule of decorum which is loaded in favor of the established order. Such a rule, so far as Mr. Bullitt is concerned, was imposed on him under duress. Granted that he was driven to criticize the established order, he could not help committing a breach of decorum. To cook

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his omelette he had to smash that particular egg. I maintain that it is rather a caste attitude to insist that we ourselves won't break an egg-shell, even though we like his omelette for breakfast.

And so I feel about all refinement that conceals in the background its slaughter-house. The sporting Englishman goes rather far, I admit, in the affirmation of brutality. But isn't it better to affirm our brutality, call it by its right name, rather than indulge and elevate our sense of refinement and have our butchers do the dirty work. If we don't actually give up the butchery, if we don't refuse to accept the fruits of it, we ought to stop being so respectable. We ought to exclaim a little less about our own charming inability to kill a lamb. F. H.

The German Socialists During the War

German Social Democracy During the War, by Edwyn Bevan. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

MR. BEVAN'S book is an admirably clear and reasonably impartial account of the Social Democratic movement in Germany until the premiership of Count Hertling. It is indispensable to an understanding of the present situation; and since it is largely based upon books and periodicals to which, thus far, only officials have had access outside of Germany, it is bound, for some time to come, to hold the field. Where it is strong is in its clear summary of individual attitudes; its weakness lies in the obvious fact that Mr. Bevan does not know enough of the pre-war history of German socialism to realize the significance which attaches to the conflicts he describes. But his book is ample evidence of the thoroughness with which a trained historian can ransack records to which he is unaccustomed. It was a far cry from the Seleucid Emperors to Scheidemann and Haase; but Mr. Bevan has annihilated the intervening space with enviable skill.

The real result of his book is to show that the history of German socialism in the last five years is very like the history of socialism in other belligerent countries. Men like Lensch become fierce nationalists with a side glance at the joys of annexation just like Mr. Walling in America and Gustave Hervé in France. Haase and Bernstein are not unlike Ramsay Macdonald and Philip Snowden in England. Scheidemann was to German politics very much what Mr. Gompers was to American labor. There is the socialist who is prepared to betray all his principles at the call of race. There are men who think that Germany is only less wrong than her enemies, and eager to find the first suitable moment for negotiations. A small section, of which Liebknecht, with all his faults, remains the most memorable figure, never deserted the rigid Marxian belief that this, as every war, was inherent in the viciousness of capitalism, an interlude which served only to obscure a deeper struggle. In Mr. Bevan's narrative certain obvious judgments emerge. The ease with which the Majority Socialists were made the pawns of the General Staff is obvious at every point. Schiedemann seems the victim alike of his own vanity and an inability to disentangle the really critical points at issue. The Minority, particularly Haase, played throughout a part the nobility of which we shall only be able to appreciate at its full value, when we realize, a decade from now, how near their stand was to liberalism the world over. It is clear that Liebknecht never had a following capable of more than the flank disintegration of guerrilla warfare. The internationalism for which Lenin stands had, up to the Revolution of 1918, made little progress in Germany. Ebert, Müller, Scheidemann were the type that in England and America denounced the British labor party as wanton traitors and were more anxious for the successful prosecution of the war than for careful safeguard of what that prosecution was to mean.

Mr. Bevan tends, on the whole, to regard German socialism as a singularly impotent force. Yet that view is due rather to the date at which his book ends than to a proper perspective of the case. A hint of its power can be seen in the sensational naval mutinies of 1917, which, as the authorities rightly saw, were really due to a general discontent, mainly fostered by the Socialist Minoritaires, with the peace situation. When it is remembered how difficult it was for all socialists save men like Scheidemann to work above ground; when the virtual exclusion of all liberal propaganda from the army is borne in mind; when the normal difficulties of moderation in a time of conflicts are properly emphasized; it is surely clear that, once an immediate decision was made impossible by the Marne, the power of the socialist case was something that not even an obsolete bureaucrat like Michaelis could dare to forget. And that view is surely borne out by the rapidity with which the old régime collapsed once military defeat came into view. There was no liberalism possible in the English and mediating sense of the term: the choice was a clear one between junkerdom and a socialist republic. How much the socialists had been assisted by the hopes which President Wilson aroused (only to betray at Versailles) it is difficult to determine. Nor can we as yet obtain a clear picture of the degree to which economic discontent underlined the trend given to opinion by military failure. The new constitution of Germany suggests that the degree was large, and that the new coordination of industrial and political representation is due to the ground won by socialistic propaganda in the last months of the war.

Mr. Bevan's record suggests another observation which it is worth while to emphasize. It effectually disposes of the popular bogey that there are in Germany effective elements which look to a future war for the recovery of power lost in the late adventure. The present government roughly represents a combination of the Centre and Majority Socialism. Its record during the war is not a pure one; but it had little sympathy with the annexationism which characterized the General Staff and seems now to underlie the military alliances fostered by the French foreign office. Internally, it is faced at once by a crushing load of debt and the certainty that its major problem is the demoralization of the German industrial system. The one way in which its problems can be solved is by the avoidance of the policy which Allied an-

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tagonists are so eager to attribute to it. The Germany which has come into being is, by the very nature of its situation, a Germany which must court peace in the hope of power. Whether that power, when it does come, will be used for righteous ends, depends upon how far the Allies are willing to remedy the already poisonous effects of the present settlement.

What, above all, emerges from the survey is the proof of Burke's profoundest observation. There is no way of drawing up an indictment against a nation. Indeed, an unwritten chapter of Mr. Bevan's book would tend, if anywhere, to a crushing indictment of Allied diplomacy. It would show that what crippled the effort of men like Haase and Bernstein was less the German General Staff than things like the resolutions of the Paris Conference. What, above all, the Minority and their followers were aiming at was what the Allied Socialists in their declaration of war-aims so admirably desired. Among the major figures of the drama that evaporated illusion the Mr. Wilson of the Fourteen Points was, quite unconsciously, their friend. Indeed, it is difficult not to avoid a regret that the German government is not in the hands of that minority. To stout Clemenceauists, of course, such a regret would be unpardonable; for it would mean a recognition of the significance of Lenin, and an overwhelming repudiation of the capitalistic imperialism which has been written into the treaty of peace. But it would be a government whose record is clear and unimpeachable, able to cooperate with any genuinely democratic regime in healing the wounds of war. The constitution it would have made would have embodied the brilliant suggestions of Professor Preuss rather than the uncouth version of 1871 which has emerged from Weimar. But we have not yet heard the last of Haase and his colleagues.

H. J. L.

The Incomplete Sceptic

The Hand of the Potter, by Theodore Dreiser. New York: Boni and Liveright.

DESPITE the pessimism of all his books and the tediousness of many of them; despite the censorship of publishers, libraries and vice societies; despite the bitter onslaughts of conventional critics; Theodore Dreiser moves ponderously but steadily into place as one of America's outstanding literary figures, and for this there are many reasons but two of them would suffice. He is intellectually honest. And he is incredibly typical of the average American of today.

No wonder he is esteemed abroad. To a detached social philosopher who desired to understand the human actuality underlying the unconvincing surface manifestations of contemporary America, Dreiser's characters and Dreiser, as expressed in those characters, would come like a ray of light. Seeking to understand America, we picture such a philosopher studying The Saturday Evening Post, Harold Bell Wright's lucubrations, Christian Science, strikes, far-weeping generalizations of American statesmen, the Woolworth Building, the Ford plant, our movies and many another manifestation. And over all of them he would shake his head. These things are of the surface. What is the actuality underneath? What are the actual thoughts and acts of the actual human beings who read or produce or are, unconvincingly, mirrored by these things? Our philosopher would know that there must be something less definite, less standardized; more animal, more illogical, tangled, muddy and perplexed below all these evidences of vigor and normality and surface life. And in Dreiser he would find what he sought. He would find a picture of the mental and emotional spasms which the average American undergoes in the contemporary chaotic welter of experiences. He would find the doubts, the despairs, the uncertainty bound to exist in a great polyglot nation where the discipline of the past had been destroyed and no new discipline had yet come to replace it. Above all, he would find an incomplete scepticism which, growing out of a good heart, leads to gnawing doubts and a hopelessness more forlorn and passive than bitter and dynamic.

Older civilizations have come through the mental state which Dreiser depicts so convincingly because so unconsciously. Their complete scepticism has crystallized into a solid core from which radio-active energies, expressed in cooperation, discipline and determination, are shot off. Their bitterness has lead to a determination to accept the inexorable and to make life better by the use of human will and intelligence.

It was one Frenchman who said to an American woman:—

"I, Madame, believe in everything. I am a sceptic."

It was another Frenchman who said:—

"The universe is unquestionably the project of some great Architect who died before it was finished."

Mr. Dreiser depicts the incomplete sceptics who believe in nothing—very long. And—trusting and kindly hearted, hopeful and with bits of orthodoxy remaining—he cannot bring himself to believe that the Architect of the universe has died. He insists that life must have a meaning, a meaning which we can understand. Since he cannot find the meaning, he despairs in multitudinous pages.

Conrad is a more complete sceptic—the product of a more finished civilization. Conrad insists that we live in "a spectacular, episodic universe," that life is but a succession of unmeaning spectacles and episodes. But Conrad boasts "I am a disciplined man." Mr. Dreiser has come to believe in an episodic universe. He has not yet boasted that he is a disciplined man. Yet if he ever comes to realize that it is somewhat immature and sophomoric to inveigh against the inexorable, and much wiser and much manlier to take life just as it is; accept the conditions and, by will and intelligence expressed in discipline, cooperation and loyalty, mould it closer to the heart's desire; he will probably cease writing such books as have thus far come from his pen and American literature will, accordingly, lose something which expresses America amazingly.

Dreiser's four-act play called The Hand of the Potter has just been published. Its cover inquires:—

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Well, The Hand of the Potter is a tragedy, a grim tragedy. And, because it is sincere and because one feels that it bruised the heart of the man who wrote it, it is worthy of all praise. An abnormal boy who has been in prison for injuring one little girl assaults and kills another little girl on his release. He is not a brute but a defective. He is depicted as having many kindly impulses and good traits but he is helpless because of psychopathic derangement. His father and mother are Russian Jews caught in the maelstrom of New York and unable to influence and direct their children as they would. The boy commits suicide under sensational circumstances and the old man, a pathetic figure for whom life has proved too much, closes the play by saying to someone inveighing against him for not bringing the boy up better:—"Vy pull at de valls of my house? Dey are already down"—his efforts and struggles and dreams have proved unavailing against the resistless, the incomprehensible, the terrifying, the illogical tides of the thing called life. The title of the play is from the quatrain of Omar Khayyam which asks:—"What, Did the Hand then of the Potter shake?" and implies that the abnormal boy was a mistake of God's.

But how naive this is, after all. It is a phase of adolescent Weltschmerz; it is much the same refusal to accept life as it is, that defenders of Dreiser bring as a charge against his opponents. It is the childish, incomplete scepticism which has come only to the brink of the abyss of meditations. Just as the play—for all its sincerity—fails of being an authentic work of art because the writer has to editorialize in his last act through the medium of two reporters who drag in Havelock Ellis and Kraft-Ebing and moralize in lengthy dialogue. Any French writer of the first rank would have made the thing as impersonal as a death certificate, and, so have enhanced the indictment of life.

But then no Frenchman of the first rank would have been so incomplete a sceptic. Can it be that Dreiser has never read Octave Mirbeau or even Barbusse? Can it be that he does not know that the great literatures of the world are filled with tragedies all the more truly human and tragic because they start with no thought of a fathering divinity?

JESSE LEE BENNETT.

Eastern Mythology

The mythology of all races in 13 volumes, edited by Louis Herbert Gray, A. M., Ph. D. Vol. VI. Indian, by A. Berriedale Keith, D. C. L., Ph. D. Iranian, by Albert J. Carnoy, Ph. D., Litt. D. Boston: Marshall Jones Co.

THE mythology of the Hindus has a unique charm of its own. It has been preserved in excellent form, not only in paint and stone and brick and metal but also in a continuous, unbroken line of literature. "In mass of content and in value for mythology" says Dr. Keith, "the Egyptian and Babylonian records can not compare with the Rig Veda." . . . . "The high mythic systems of Teuton, Celt and Slav, of Greek and Roman have perished before the onslaught of a loftier faith and survived in little less than folklore. In India, on the contrary though foreign invasion has often swept over the north west of the land, though Islam has annexed souls as well as territories, though Christianity (especially in the south) has contributed elements to the faith of the people, still it remains true that the religion and mythology of the land are genuinely their own and for this reason have in themselves the potency of fresh growth." As to the character of the mythology, Dr. Keith observes that the mysticism of Indian conception tends ever to a pantheism, alien to the clear cut creations of the Hellenic imagination. The remark, though substantially true of the later mythology of the Hindus as portrayed in the Puranas, does not apply to the religion of the Vedas. "The religion and mythology of the Rig Veda," adds Dr. Keith, "are not primitive in character and represent the result of a long period of development of sacred poetry. . . . The gods who form the subject of this poetry often appear obscure in character, though in the great majority of cases it is clear that the myths related of them refer to physical happenings." This obscurity has its reason in the archaic and obsolete language of the Vedas. After devoting the best part of his life to the study of the Rig Veda the late celebrated Prof. Max Müller gave out his deliberate opinion, that in the present state of knowledge of the vedic terms and forms, any translation of the vedic hymns must be only tentative. He cautioned his fellow workers in the field against cock-sureness and warned them of the danger of positive statements about the meaning of vedic words. It is a disregard of this salutary advice, the systematic and inexcusable ignoring of the canons of vedic interpretation laid down by native authorities like Yaska and exaggerated respect for the theories of the European students of the Vedas, coupled with a studied contempt for the work of the Hindu scholars, that often lands the western translators and expounders of the Vedas into absurd positions. The work before us affords some deplorable instances of this. Giving all credit to Dr. Keith for hard and laborious work and for honesty of purpose, we can not help remarking that the form in which he has presented the vedic mythology is positively uninteresting to a lay reader. No amount of supposed "mysticism and love of paradox" can explain the absurdity of the rendering that "Indra produced his parents, sky and earth" or that "Daksha (a creator God) is at once father and son of Aditi." A similar statement is made later on about a certain goddess who is given out as the mother and daughter of the same person at the same time. The fact is that in different parts of the collection the same word is used in different senses according to their derivative meanings. If the western scholars consulted the native commentators ancient and modern they would find perfectly good explanations of these seemingly paradoxical statements.

It is remarkable how clearly the Vedic poets realized the idea of Law pervading the universe. This law they placed even higher than gods and goddesses and called Rta, which Dr. Keith translates by "order." "Its first aspect is cosmic order" and "in the sphere of man Rta is a moral order

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and, as truth, it stands in perpetual opposition to untruth."

Dr. Keith is, however, on much surer ground in his chapters dealing with the mythologies of the Buddhists, the Jainas and Puranas. The most inviting part of the book are the illustrations, some of which have probably been published for the first time. The reproductions in color are exquisite and have immensely added to the value of the work. In these one finds some of the best samples of old Hindu art.

Dr. Carnoy's exposition of the Iranian mythology is in our judgment much more readable. It contains less dreary details, lesser discussions and more of intelligent narrative. The reproductions of illuminated paintings illustrating scenes from the Sháh-Náma, the Persian epic of the Iranians, with original verses in the Persian characters, are simply charming. LAJPAT RAI.

Good Form

Fields of Victory, by Mrs. Humphry Ward. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

SOME writers concern themselves merely with the clothes and masks of people; with legs and belly and intestines they have no acquaintance. Of such authors, Mrs. Humphry Ward is perhaps the best living example. She is inclined to take people at their own estimate believing that anything else would be bad form. Confronted with the war, she does the utmost to prove that everything is still for the best in the best possible world, although she admits that there are degrees of bestness. She divides the Allies, for example, into two classes: those that are wonderful, and those that are wonderful *but*. England is in the first class; her men were marvelous, her generals excellent, her achievements incredible. England would have ended the war immediately if it hadn't been for the damned Liberals (the profanity is only indirectly Mrs. Ward's) who fought the military budget during the years before 1914. America slides tacitly into the second category. She was wonderful, *but*—she would have done better if she had followed more closely the English example. Incredible as the statement may seem, Mrs. Ward's latest volume of war sketches (she compiled them after visiting the deserted battlefields during January and February of this year) is intended to cement the friendship between the United States and the British Empire. It is futile propaganda. To the fact that the mass of Englishmen were formerly as complacent and patronizing as Mrs. Ward in face of their kindred oversea, the American distrust of Great Britain may partly be attributed. The hope of amity in the future rests on the recent and widespread abandonment of that attitude. M. C.

Contributors

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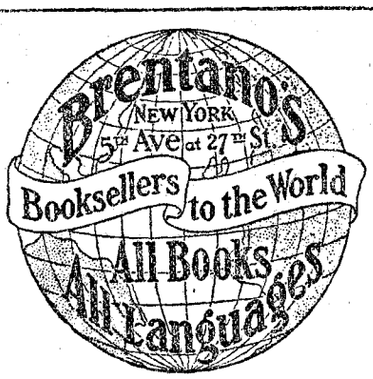

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